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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	RPE-01	/038W					

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O 240906Z JAN 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5568
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 00322

PARIS FOR PERLOW

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: WEEKEND BRINGS MANY MEETINGS...NO PROGRESS
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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IT WAS A BUSY WEEKEND OF BEHIND-THE-SCENE MEETINGS IN KIGALI WITH NO EVIDENCE OF FORWARD MOTION TOWARD ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THE FAILURE TO ESTABLISH A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, HUNGER AND REFUGEE MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH, AND RETURN OF EXILES IN THE NORTH ARE CAUSING THINLY-STRETCHED UNAMIR TO EVALUATE ITS POSITION. PRESIDENTIAL FEARS WEIGH HEAVILY ON

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NEGOTIATING PROCESS. UNAMIR COMMANDER HAS SUBMITTED OPTIONS TO NEW YORK FOR COPING WITH SECURITY AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. END SUMMARY.

3. AN INFORMAL MEETING OF BELGIUM, FRENCH, TANZANIAN AND U.S. COMS' OVER TEA AFTERNOON 1/21 WITH PRIME MINISTER UWILINGIYIMANA AND PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU FAILED TO MOVE THE TWO FROM THEIR DETERMINATION THAT RECONCILIATION WITH THEIR POLITICAL BASE COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE HAD FORMED A GOVERNMENT OF PERSONS AMENABLE TO HIS AGENDA. UNFORTUNATELY, THE PRIME MINISTERS' TOOK THE COMS' INFORMAL REPRESENTATION AS AN EFFORT TO GET MINISTERIAL SEATS FOR FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA. DIPLOMATS, AT AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S SUGGESTION, HAD CAREFULLY AVOIDED NAMING NAMES WHILE URGING THAT PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE SEEK POLITICAL SUPPORT FROM WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY. BUT, ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, BELGIAN GOVERNMENT CONVOKED THE RWANDAN

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AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS THAT SAME AFTERNOON AND SPECIFICALLY URGED THAT NSENGIYAREMYE AND NGULINZIRA BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

4. IN A LATE NIGHT MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR RAWSON, MINISTER OF COMMERCE MUGENZI AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE NTAMABYARIRO SPENT OVER TWO HOURS JUSTIFYING MUGENZI'S LEGAL RIGHT AS PRESIDENT OF THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) TO REJECT THE RESULTS OF HIS PARTY'S ELECTIONS FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES AND FORMULATE HIS OWN LIST. "IF THE OTHER SIDE DOESN'T LIKE WHAT I'VE DONE, THEY CAN TAKE ME TO COURT AND I'LL STAND BY THE COURT'S DECISION," MUGENZI SAID. RAWSON RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE TIME FOR LITIGATION; INSTITUTIONS SHOULD HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED A MONTH AGO; THE PL SHOULD ARRANGE AN "OUT-OF-COURT" SETTLEMENT BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES, OR, STEP ASIDE AND LET THE ASSEMBLY BE INSTITUTED WITHOUT PL DEPUTIES SEATED. AS MINISTERS LEFT AT MIDNIGHT, RAWSON BREW THEIR ATTACION TO THE ILLUMINATED BUILDINGS AND HOMES OF KIGALI STRETCHED ACROSS THE VALLEYS BELOW AND REMARKED, "YOU ALL ARE PLAYING POKER WITH THAT." MUGENZI SMILED WRYLY AND AGREED.

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5. AMBASSADOR GAVE A LUNCHEON 1/22 FOR UNAMIR
COMMANDER GENERAL DALLAIRE, NEW GHANAIAN DEPUTY
GENERAL ANYIDOH AND BANGLADESHI OPERATIONS CHIEF
COLONEL ASRAR. THE U.N. OFFICERS DESCRIBED THE
PROBLEM OF KEEPING KIGALI CALM WHILE FRONTIERS
BUCKLED. EXILED TUTSIS WITH CATTLE WERE MOVING INTO
THE RPF-HELD ZONE. DISPLACED PERSONS WERE RESTLESS
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AND, STIRRED BY EXILES' MOVEMENT, MIGHT ATTEMPT TO
REGAIN THEIR LANDS IN THE RPF-HELD AREA BEFORE
ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE TO RECEIVE THEM. IN THE
SOUTH, RWANDA TUTSI REFUGEES WHO LOST RELATIVES IN
BURUNDI, WERE FLEEING BACK TO RWANDA; BURUNDI HUTU
REFUGEES WERE MOVING BACK HOME, AND A DROUGHT-
STRICKEN LOCAL POPULATION WAS EMBITTERED AT THEIR
GOVERNMENT'S ATTENTION TO REFUGEES WHILE IGNORING
THEIR PLIGHT. NECESSITY OF PATROLLING KIGALI AND
PROVIDING ESCORT FOR ONGOING POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS
HAD KEPT UNAMIR TROOPS ON ROUND-THE-CLOCK DUTY.
IMPERATIVES OF TROOP DEPLOYMENT ROTATION AND LEAVE
REQUIRED A NEW LOOK AT UNAMIR'S SITUATION.

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6. ON 1/23, GENERAL DALLAIRE (PROTECT) SHARED WITH AMBASSADOR THE OPTIONS UNAMIR IS PRESENTING TO NEW YORK. AFTER RUNNING THROUGH ALTERNATIVES RANGING FROM STATUS QUO TO MOVING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BACK TO MULINDI TO CLOSING DOWN UNAMIR OPERATION, DALLAIRE PROPOSED TWO OPTIONS: THAT PHASE II DEPLOYMENT BE MADE FIRST TO KIGALI TO GIVE UNAMIR ADEQUATE FORCES FOR PICING UP ARMS IN KIGALI AND MAKING IT AN ARMS-FREE ZONE, OR, THAT PHASE II DEPLOYMENT BE SUSPENDED AS A WAY OF PRESSURING KIGALI POLITICIANS TO COME TO TERMS AND INSTALL THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

7. FRENCH AMBASSADOR MARLAUD RETURNED TO TOWN 1/21 AND, IN FIRST MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR RAWSON 1/22, COMMENTED ON PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S CONCERN THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND POLITICAL ALLIES REALLY INTENDED TO STAGE A LEGISLATIVE COUP AS SOON AS TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS ARE INSTALLED. HE WONDERED IF THE JOINT POLITICO-MILITARY COMMISSION MIGHT NOT BE REVIVED AS

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A MEANS OF FORMALIZING OBSERVER STATE SUPPORT FOR THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AND THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION IN THE PROCESS. A QUICK REVIEW OF THE ACCORDS SHOWED THE COMMISSION TO BE A WEAK REED FOR BUTTRESSING THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE. AMBASSADORS AGREED, NONETHELESS, THAT PRESIDENT FEARS LARGELY INFLUENCED PRESENT SCENARIOS AND SOME WAY OF DEALING WITH THOSE ANXIETIES SHOULD BE FORMULATED.

B. IN LONG CONVERSATION EVENING 1/23, PRESIDENTIAL
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POLITICAL ADVISOR RENZAHO TOLD AMBASSADOR RAWSON THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THOSE AROUND HIM FULLY BELIEVED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S CHIEF AMBITION WAS TO PUSH THE PRESIDENT OUT OF OFFICE OR, IF THAT FAILED, ELIMINATE HIM PHYSICALLY. YET, THE PRESIDENT REJECTED THE NOTION OF AMNESTY RECENTLY RAISED BY MINISTER OF HEALTH BIZIMUNGU; WHAT THE PRESIDENT WANTED WAS CONTINUED PRIVILEGED RELATIONS WITH HIS TRADITIONAL FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

9. RENZAHO ALSO REVEALED THAT PL MUGENZI HAD MET OVER THE WEEKEND WITH PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU AND THEN WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. TWAGIRAMUNGU ALSO MET WITH FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE. NONE OF THESE MEETINGS HAD PRODUCED A SOLUTION. ALL RWANDAN POSITIONS WERE GRIDLOCKED, RENZAHO SAID. THERE NEEDED TO BE FORCING FROM THE OUTSIDE. RAWSON TOLD RENZAHO THAT IF THE SPECTRE OF WAR, THE SUFFERING OF THEIR PEOPLE, THE IMPERATIVES OF ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING AND RECONSTRUCTION COULD NOT FORCE RWANDAN POLITICIANS TO SEEK COMPROMISE, THERE WAS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THEY WOULD LISTEN TO VOICES FROM THE OUTSIDE. RAWSON TOLD RENZAHO THAT HE WOULD, NONETHELESS, CONTINUE HIS ROUNDS, PRESSING ALL SIDES TOWARD REALISM, COMPROMISE AND QUICK ACTION IN INSTALLING THE TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS. RAWSON

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